

**THE NEW RACIAL SITUATION
... THE WAY OUT**

By
E. P. ALLDREDGE

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FOREWORD

A new racial situation confronts the people of America. It is a complex, difficult and dangerous situation. Three proposed solutions to the issues involved are here presented, as follows:

COLONIZATION

INTEGRATION

CHRISTIANIZATION

All these proposed solutions of the racial situation have been canvassed, considered, analyzed and appraised in the pages which follow. In presenting the claims of Christianization, a distinct attempt has been made to set forth the basic Christian principles which alone can give guidance to the solution of the problems involved. The task undertaken has called for pointed analysis and plain but not unkindly speaking.

Too long the Christian whites of the South have remained silent. Only three other books dealing with the racial situation have come from Southern white authors since 1939; whereas more than 135 books dealing with this subject have been published by the Negro leaders of America and their friends, the radical whites of the North, almost all of them vigorously attacking the white South.

Three classes of readers will not be pleased with this little book—the conservative Southern whites, the radical Northern whites, and the pro-

fessional Negro leaders of America. One can only plead the right of the Christian whites of the South to speak forth what they have seen and heard, and to make an honest effort to present the Christian way out.

INTRODUCTION

BY THE HONORABLE JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

The author of this challenging volume warns us in his foreword that conservative Southern whites, radical Northern whites, and professional Negro leaders will not be pleased. Without benefit of statistics I can report from much travel about the South and the nation that there are very great numbers of Southerners, and others, too, who are neither conservatives nor radicals but merely people of good will, education, and light, who are persuaded, as Dr. Alldredge is here, and who will welcome his forthright exposition. They know that for economy's sake, and, most of all, Christian decency's sake, we must not only permit but encourage advancement for our colored people.

In a letter addressed to the author under date of June 6, 1946, the Honorable John Temple Graves adds: "What you are proposing is what literally millions of decent and enlightened white people of the South want. Once freed from the fear that the Negro's advancement means a breakdown of segregation, they would be on the Negro's side for all manner of advancement."

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Part I
COLONIZATION

COLONIZATION

FIRST PROPOSAL FOR COLONIZATION

So far as is known, Dr. Samuel Hopkins of Newport, Rhode Island, in 1770, made the first, definite proposal for the colonization of all "free people of color." Dr. Hopkins linked his proposal with the effort to Christianize and civilize the people of Africa. He proposed to accomplish this by sending freed Negroes who were Christians and who had been given some education and training, back to their homeland in Africa (see *Encyclopedia Americana*, Vol. 7, p. 298).

JEFFERSON ALSO COMES OUT FOR COLONIZATION

The second great advocate of colonization for the Negroes of America was Thomas Jefferson. In 1779 he made a definite and far-reaching proposal for the instruction of the slaves in agriculture and the handicrafts with a view to preparing them for liberation and colonization under the supervision and tutelage of the home Government, and caring for them until such time as they could become self-supporting (*Works of Jefferson*, Vol. III, p. 296; Vol. IV, p. 29; Vol. VIII, p. 380). Coming at the time it did, one is literally amazed at the far-seeing vision and statesmanship of this threefold proposal; (1) for the liberation of the slaves, (2) for their colonization, and (3) for their support and guidance until they should become an independent people.

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About the year 1800, the slaveholders of America began to come out strongly for colonization as a means of getting rid of the free Negroes in America, thus saving and strengthening the institution of slavery—the free Negroes having begun to cause serious trouble. It was at this time also that Virginia began a series of appeals to the National Government for a special grant of funds to be used for colonization purposes. When the first of these appeals was rejected, Virginia passed, in 1806, a law forcing all free Negroes to leave the state within a year after their freedom. Then in 1816, Virginia made still another appeal to the Federal Government for funds to colonize all free Negroes in that state.

THE BASIC IDEAS OF COLONIZATION

Five basic ideas, it would seem, gave birth and life to the colonization movement (1816-1860). The first was the conception that all people of all races have a moral right to a homeland of their own—a country which they may claim as their native land. Along with this, was another conception and conviction that the Negro people did not belong in America—that their place was in Africa, their homeland. And since the American people had ruthlessly taken the Negroes away from their homeland, they were now morally obligated to restore them to that land. A third conception back of the colonization movement arose out of the conviction, well-nigh universal at the time, that there was no practicable way of inte-

grating Negro people into the American way of life and government. For, on the one hand, they could never be recognized as the equal of the white people of the nation and, on the other hand, there was no place in the basic conceptions of American life and government for serfs or underlings. Then a fourth conception soon began to have great weight in the minds of the leaders of this movement and in that of the public generally—colonization was by far the easiest and cheapest way out of the difficult and perplexing situation.

Just how much easier and cheaper, the American people were destined to learn some fifty years later, when the Federal Government alone was forced to spend twice the cost of colonization in a bloody war in which the Confederate Government spent also a great sum, to say nothing of the untold sufferings and the loss of American lives, both North and South. Finally, the idea of deportation got under way, particularly in the South, in order to get the free Negroes out of America as undesirable and impossible citizens of this Republic.

ORGANIZED COLONIZATION MOVEMENTS

Only two outstanding organized movements for the colonization of free Negroes, however, seem to have taken form before the coming of the Civil War; and both of these movements carefully omitted Jefferson's proposal for liberating the slaves. These two movements were as follows:

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(1) The American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color, 1816, Judge Bushrod Washington being the first president.

(2) The Convention Movement, 1830.

As propaganda agencies both of these movements became quite effective, particularly, the Convention Movement. In actual colonization, however, they accomplished very little. In 1820 a colony of a few hundred was sent to Sherbro Island, Africa. And in 1822 another colony of persons was sent to Liberia. Some small groups were also sent to Haiti. Other groups were sent to Liberia. These, however, soon found themselves outnumbered 100 to 1 by the natives who deeply resented the coming of these foreign intruders to take over their native land. Moreover, these natives have never co-operated with the American free Negroes who came as colonists and erected the so-called Republic of Liberia. In the meantime, the managers of the American Society began to pass "black laws" to force free Negroes to go back to Africa, and all the great American leaders forsook the movement.

The Convention Movement, on the other hand, continued to function in some fashion, down to the Civil War and beyond.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S THREE-POINT PROGRAM

As early as 1854, Abraham Lincoln began to seriously grapple with the problem of slavery and to try to find a proper place for the Negro in American life, as the following statement from

his speech in Peoria, Illinois, that year clearly discloses:

If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution [of slavery]. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia, to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me that whatever of high hope, as I think there is, there may be in this in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days, and there is not surplus shipping and surplus money enough to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them here among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery at any rate, yet the point is not clear enough for me to denounce people upon. What next? Free them and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of whites will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment is not the sole question, if indeed it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill founded cannot safely be disregarded. We cannot make them equals.

By the time Lincoln was elected President of the United States, however, his views had crystallized into his well-known three-point program, as follows:

- (1) If possible secure the voluntary freedom of all the slaves.
- (2) Compensate each slave owner for his losses by a Government grant.

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(3) Colonize the freed slaves at Government expense, as soon as suitable arrangements can be made.

Lincoln, moreover, clung tenaciously to his three-point program through all the years until two great tragic events forced a change in his plans: (1) All the border states rejected his great three-point program, in the face of his repeated appeals and entreaties; and (2) Lincoln saw that he must free the slaves in order to break down the Confederacy and save the Union. One of the strange and wholly unexplained things about Lincoln's plans, however, was that in freeing almost 4,000,000 slaves, he made no sort of provision for them in any way, colonization or otherwise, though he knew that they were without food, or shelter, or employment, or medical attention, or educational advantages. In other words, he forced the white South, already exhausted by war, either to feed and shelter and protect the 4,000,000 freed Negroes or else see them perish.

MODERN AGITATION FOR COLONIZATION

Following the Civil War and the freedom of the slaves, two radical changes took place in the agitation for colonization—the people of the North and the West dropped the subject entirely, while the Southerners and the former slaveowners began to call for colonization. Through the more than eighty years that have followed Lincoln's proclamation freeing the slaves, senators and congressmen from South Carolina, Georgia

and Mississippi have brought up the subject several times. And just recently one of the senators from Mississippi has given public notice that he will make a definite proposal for colonizing the Negroes as soon as some of the acute problems of the war and reconversion are out of the way.

WHAT ARE THE MERITS OF COLONIZATION?

This leads us to ask and try to answer as simply as possible: What are the merits of the colonization proposal? At least five things about colonization commend it to most right thinking persons:

(1) Granting that a proper territory can be found, colonization is the simplest and easiest way out of a very difficult and dangerous situation which is growing more perilous every year. For, since 1939, in particular, most of the leaders of the 13,000,000 Negroes and 4,000,000 radical whites have been waging a war of propaganda against 123,000,000 whites in general and 38,600,000 whites in the Southland and the Southwest in particular which is but one step removed from bloodshed.

(2) The proposal for colonization is precisely in line with the best and most mature thinking of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Daniel Webster, and the great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, and many others of the greatest minds of America.

(3) Moreover, the proposal undoubtedly offers the best protection to both of the main races in America. The white man's record of lynching Negroes is an unspeakable and horrible outrage and disgrace to any nation. On the other hand, as we have shown by the actual court records of 1940, Negroes in the South are now killing four white men for every Negro who is killed by a white man; and then the Negroes are turning around *and killing six times as many Negroes as they kill

*See Appendix II, pp. 67-72.

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whites! So that the blood of both Negroes and whites cries from the ground in the South and Southwest, and something must be done about it! Colonization would stop this awful orgy of murder and lynching (see Appendix II, in this volume).

(4) Again, colonization is absolutely fair to both races. It comprehends reimbursing the Negroes for all their personal losses, assisting them in establishing new homes and schools and churches in their new state, and subsidizing the state government and the industries of the new state for a period of twelve to twenty years. This new Liberia, moreover, would be a territory or a full-fledged state in the United States and would manage its own affairs and send its own senators and representatives to the Congress in Washington.

(5) Finally, colonization carried out in this manner, it would seem, offers the greatest possible challenge to both races.

WHERE IS THE TERRITORY FOR THIS NEW LIBERIA?

The only serious question about colonization, according to the plan here outlined, is the finding of a territory suitable for the settlement and future welfare of 13,000,000 Negroes. If such a territory can be found and purchased, no price would be too great to pay for it. But we wonder where such a territory or state can be found, contiguous to the other states of the Union. For, of necessity, the proposed Negro state would have to be as large as Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Kansas combined, and would contain 3,000,000 more people than these four states now have. To find such a territory which can be purchased for this purpose presents a staggering problem.

Part II

INTEGRATION—AND AMALGAMATION

INTEGRATION—AND AMALGAMATION

WHAT COMPLETE "INTEGRATION" MEANS

The term "integration," as applied to American race relations, carries with it two great concepts and requires two distinct processes of realization. First, it calls for the complete wiping out of all racial segregation; and, second, it calls for the complete obliteration of all racial distinctions, leaving, in fact, only one race in America. That is to say, if the United States of America ever achieves complete integration of the races of which this nation is composed (and Negro leaders in all walks of life are calling for and demanding just this*), two things must and will take place: (1) Segregation will be totally abolished, and (2) only one race will be left in the end, a mulatto race having from one-tenth to two-tenths Negro blood.

Let us consider in detail these two great processes or movements which are necessary to the achievement of complete racial integration in America:

1. The Wiping Out of All Racial Segregation. The first process or movement required to achieve full racial integration in America is the abolition

*Thirty years ago there were two distinct types of Negro leaders in America—the conservatives and the radicals. Since World War I, however, there have been no more conservatives—all are radical, some more so than others. But there are some 4,000,000 Bible-believing Negro Christians who have not yet bowed down to the radicals.

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of segregation in every area of life. Stated as succinctly as possible and covering all points set out by the Negro leaders of our day who are demanding complete integration, here is what they are contending for, in our own words:

(1) Schools: All separate race schools must be abolished, and all school directors, principals, teachers, and pupils must include all races living in the community, without distinction and without discrimination.

(2) Churches: All separate race churches must be abolished, and all church members, and church attendants, also pastors and church officers, must be composed of all races living in the community, without distinction or discrimination.

(3) Theaters: All theaters must be open to all races without distinction, and all races must be charged the same price for admission and seated in the same section of the building. There must be no separate sections for separate races.

(4) Hotels: All hotels and rooming houses must accept the registration of all races of people, and furnish the same accommodations to persons of all races without distinction in price or treatment. And all dining rooms, coffee shops and bars of all hotels must be open to the people of all races alike.

(5) Restaurants: All restaurants and cafes must give the same services at the same prices, and at the same hours, to the people of all races living in the community, and the people of all races must be seated together without distinction or discrimination.

(6) Parks and Recreation Centers: All public parks, play grounds, swimming pools and other recreational centers must be open to the people of all races without distinction during the same hours, and upon the same terms and regulations.

(7) Hospitals and Clinics: All public hospitals, clinics and health centers must be open to and admit the

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people of all races upon precisely the same terms and regulations; and all health institutions must employ Negro doctors and nurses and use Negro directors, without any distinction or discrimination as to race.

(8) Industry and Employment: All business concerns and corporations of every character must employ people of all races, give them equal pay for equal service, and provide them with equal opportunity for promotion and equal accident, sickness, and old age benefits; and they must not only serve the people of all races alike but must admit the people of all races to participate in the management or directorship of all business concerns or corporations (the F.E.P.C.*).

(9) Public Buildings, Auditoriums, etc.: No public building or auditorium may provide separate entrances and exits for the people of different races or cause the people of one race to be seated in a special section reserved for them. On the contrary, the people of all races must enter by the same entrances, be seated together without distinction of race and depart by the same exits.

(10) Public Conveyances: All public conveyances, whether buses, street cars, taxis, railways, airplanes, or ships, must accept all passengers on the same terms, and seat them together without distinction or discrimination as to race, and must give the people of all races the same accommodations, both in the regular section of the conveyance and in the pullmans, dining cars and cafes enroute.

(11) Residential Areas: No city, town or incorporated village may set aside any given section of its incorporated limits for the exclusive residential use and occu-

*Fair Employment Practices Control was instituted by President Roosevelt for all war work establishments in America, as a war measure. Negro leaders, ably sponsored by Governor Dewey, made the F.E.P.C. a state law in New York in 1945; and are now seeking to make it a Federal enactment. This would cause any kind of racial discrimination in industry to be considered as a crime to be punished by law.

pancy of any given race, or seek to confine them to any limited section of the incorporation.

(12) Labor Unions, Fraternal Orders, etc.: No labor union, fraternal order, lodge, farmers' society, consumers' league, economic association or mutual protective society may exclude the people of any given race from its membership; but must accord to the people of all races the same membership rights and the same privileges, opportunities and benefits from all such societies and organizations.

(13) Citizenship: All citizens, without distinction of race, color or creed, must be accorded the right to vote in all elections, primary and general; must be given the privilege and opportunity of presenting themselves for public office and being elected to the same; must receive a proportionate share of all appointive offices and honors, and must sit on all juries, grand and petit; must have representatives of their groups on all police forces and on all planning boards and commissions, in all cities, towns, and communities.

(14) Armed Forces of U. S.: Those having charge of the armed forces of the United States shall never make any distinction of race, color, or creed, but shall accord to every able-bodied citizen of this Republic the right and privilege of serving in any branch of the nation's armed forces which his talents and training and experience may fit him for. And each citizen who volunteers or is drafted for service in any branch of the armed forces of this nation shall receive his training and render his service in units made up of all nationalities and races without distinction or discrimination; and may not be segregated into distinct racial units.

(15) Federal Aid and Employment: The Federal Government shall employ the citizens of this nation without distinction of race, creed, or color on the basis of their ability, training, and experience, and they shall pay each of them according to the services rendered; give to each of them the same opportunity for promotion and

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provide the same sick, accident and old age benefits for all alike. Moreover, no Federal agency or authority shall segregate the workers of one race from those of any other race, or provide privileges and accommodations for the workers of one race not provided for all others. These requirements, moreover, shall apply to all forms of public service, whether Federal, state, or municipal.

(16) Marriage and the Home: All laws and regulations, whether Federal, state, or municipal, forbidding or hindering marriage between citizens of the Caucasian race and the citizens of all other races in America, shall be repealed and expunged; and all questions of marriage and the institution of new homes shall be left to the individual man and woman concerned, without distinction of race or creed or color.

THE MEANING OF WIPING OUT ALL SEGREGATION

With this detailed program for the abolition of all segregation before us, and with the full understanding that this program is being advocated and pushed by all the Negro race leaders and all the race organizations in America, let us ask ourselves and try to answer two questions about this program.

1. What are the chances for the adoption of this full program? The chances for the adoption of all the items of this thoroughgoing program of antisegregation in America are not very promising. To begin with, the fight for complete racial integration in America has behind it only about 12 per cent of the people of the nation—13,000,000 Negroes and almost 4,000,000 radical white supporters—these in a population of 140,000,000. And, while the 13,000,000 Negroes have great

unanimity and determination, clear understanding of their demands, and an almost perfect organization set-up for waging a successful campaign, and withal the very best financial, moral and publicity support from the 4,000,000 white radicals of the North, they have some very great handicaps:

First of all, the program which they are fighting for is too broad, radical, and comprehensive, as may be understood by reviewing the sixteen items listed above. If the Negro leaders would center, for the time being, upon the demands for full citizenship and economic fair play, they would have much better chances to win.

Second, since the days of Reconstruction (1865-1877), the professional Negroes (who are in charge of the present campaign) have sought to redress all their wrongs and to win all their proposals for advancement through the Congress and Federal Government—that is, by pressure groups and power politics. But it is quite evident to every one, except the Negro leaders, that ten of their sixteen “demands” as outlined in the foregoing section, have no relation to the Federal Government whatever. Moreover, by placing all their proposals in the hands of the most radical Negroes in the nation, backed by the most radical whites, and by thrusting all their proposals into the lap of the Congress, they have succeeded admirably in doing three things: (1) They have swept aside practically all the liberal whites and the Christian forces of the nation—the Negro’s

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best friends; (2) they have called out the most radical, the most violent and the most determined white opposition in the nation; and (3) they have seen all their main proposals defeated. But like the Bourbons, they seem unable to learn anything or forget anything.

A third handicap lies in the fact that the leaders of the 13,000,000 Negroes and 4,000,000 radical whites are attempting to play power politics and to override a majority composed of 123,000,000 whites, of whom 36,800,000 live in the Black Belt of the South and Southwest.

So there seems to us little chance, almost no chance, that the whole revolutionary program outlined above will be adopted in the near future.

2. Another question must be considered here: What is the significance of the far-reaching program for racial integration, set out in the foregoing section? Perhaps five things will give us the answer:

(1) If, by a national referendum or by some other way, the majority of the people of America should set their approval upon the sixteen proposals outlined above, there can be no sort of doubt that it would abolish all racial segregation and thus achieve the first step toward racial integration in America.

(2) In this case, however, would the schools, churches, recreational centers, hotels, restaurants, public conveyances, hospitals, labor unions, fraternal orders, and the armed forces of America

thrive better by opening their doors to all races alike—that is, by following a mixed racial pattern—rather than by following the segregated racial pattern of the present time? It is our own considered judgment that the proposed mixed racial pattern will prove objectionable to at least 90 per cent of the 127,000,000 white people of this nation—and they certainly have the same right to be heard as the clamorous minority; also that if this new mixed race pattern should be adopted and followed consistently it would largely disturb and hold back all the great social institutions of the nation for 50 to 100 years at least—schools, churches, libraries, recreational centers, and all the rest. Besides, we believe there is a better way out and we shall attempt to present this further on.

(3) Certainly, if this program should be adopted and followed consistently, it would mean two things for all the industrial, commercial, transportational, financial, and public service institutions of the nation: First, all business concerns and corporations of every kind and character would be placed under strict governmental regimentation; and, second, inquisitorial commissions, having both legal and political powers, would be set up in each state to supervise all the employment, investment, and managerial problems which may arise in business. In short, we shall have a national F.E.P.C.

(4) If this program should be adopted it would mean that 13,000,000 well organized and de-

terminated Negroes and 4,000,000 radical whites (about 3 per cent of the white population) had forced the hand of 123,000,000 unorganized whites, of whom 36,800,000 live in the South and the Southwest; and that this aggressive minority group had begun to actually recast the entire cultural, economic, social, and political pattern of America.

(5) If this program should be adopted, as outlined above, and it should be faithfully followed for the next eighty to one hundred years, it would mean the inevitable mongrelization of the white and colored races in America—no matter what is the attitude of the leaders of the white race. If one will go back over the sixteen items of this program of race integration as outlined above and consider each item carefully, he will find in them the wiping out of all racial segregation and the blotting out of all race distinctions.

(6) In the meantime, if and when this program is adopted and followed consistently, the United States will be brought into the longest period of serious racial disorders it has ever experienced. For, while the Negro people living in communities composed entirely of Negroes have little trouble in getting along peaceably and harmoniously, (there are at least seven such communities in the United States), they have never gotten along well with other peoples, particularly with white people. Nor is the blame for such social maladjustments to be placed upon any one race. In fact, whenever and wherever two or more distinct races, living on widely separated cultural levels,

are brought together into close association as nominal equals, two things have always taken place—and perhaps always will take place. (1) The races thus brought together have presently begun to adopt all the vices of both races, or all the races involved, and the good points of neither of the races, and (2) every sort of crime has begun to mount up to staggering proportions. It is not an accident, therefore, that the crime map of America today follows mostly the boundaries of the Negro settlements—in the North and in the South and in the West, as the F.B.I. crime maps presented herewith make very clear.*

WHY COMPLETE INTEGRATION MEANS AMALGAMATION

As pointed out above, complete racial integration means more than wiping out all forms of segregation; it means ultimate but certain amalgamation—the blotting out of all race distinctions. Five things in the present campaign for racial integration in America very clearly show why racial amalgamation is not only coming but is even now far on the road toward realization.

1. Practically all outstanding Negro racial leaders in America boast of their own racial mixture and quite naturally urge this program upon America as a whole. If there is a single exception to this situation among all the outstanding Negro racial leaders, we have not been able to discover it.

*See Appendix II pp. 67-72.

2. Several of the most prominent of the race leaders among the Negroes of America, moreover, are already married to white women; and more of such marriages are taking place every year. We do not have reference solely to men like Jack Johnson, former heavy-weight boxing champion, who is now living with his third white wife. We refer particularly to such outstanding race leaders as George S. Schuyler of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, one of the most brilliant writers in America, and one of the most desperate white haters on earth (see the *Negro Digest*, June, 1945). And we refer to such outstanding characters as Richard Wright of New York City, who vents his stark fury and relentless hate against the South in such fiction as *Uncle Tom's Children*, *Native Son*, and *Black Boy*, which Northern people mistake for factual presentations.

3. The great Negro authors, publicists, and propagandists of the nation uniformly represent white women as being swept off their feet by the charm of Negro men, particularly by Negro soldiers, and as seeking both marriage and clandestine relations with them. Take the book by Professor Edwin R. Embree, called *13 Against the Odds*, which presents the life stories and achievements of the thirteen most distinguished Negroes in America. One of the thirteen is a widow, three have never married, seven are married to brown women of various race mixtures, two are married to (white) Jewish women; and Joe Louis has been divorced for being too free with all types of women. Says the distinguished

author, "he [Louis] has a strong male's hearty interest in women—and women have run after him, white and black and brown, storming for his favors" (p. 237). Even Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, the "elder statesman" so-called, who is seven-eighths white, graduate of Harvard and Berlin, and all egotist and radical, goes out of his way to boast that a "blue-eyed Dora" proposed to him in Germany (see *What the Negro Wants*, p. 42).

And Walter White, the very aggressive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P.* informs us that when he (a blue-eyed blond who is fifteen-sixteenths white) was a bellboy in a hotel "he had to learn agile dodges to avoid the attentions of white women, both among the patrons and the help. He was amazed and frightened by these episodes. If he repulsed the women [whites of course] too brusquely, he was afraid they would take revenge by shouting false charges against him" (pp. 80, 81 of *13 Against the Odds*).

In a seven-page condensation of the new book of this same Secretary Walter White, called *A Rising Wind*, presented in the *Negro Digest* of May 5, 1945, are two remarkable things: The first is a drawing which shows a British white girl clinging frantically to a tall, husky Negro soldier whose fist is clinched in defiance to a challenging world. The second remarkable thing is a beautiful fairy tale of gushy propaganda from

*Most readers understand that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the greatest fighting organization of the Colored People of America, having branches in every town and city of the nation.

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Secretary White's new book, reporting the almost idyllic conduct of all Negro soldiers in England and the storm by which these Negro soldiers captured the hearts of the white women everywhere. Here, in substance, is the fairy tale:*

White soldiers, particularly those from the South, were simply infuriated by seeing the white women in England rush into the arms of Negro soldiers in preference to the whites.

Many of the army officers were bitter in their resentment toward the Negro soldiers who promenaded the streets with white women, or sat in restaurants and cafes with them—and most of the racial clashes in England grew out of this situation.

An American army officer of English birth informed him that it was all a mistake about Negro soldiers raping any women in Great Britain. Two remarkable cases were cited, showing quite clearly that the white British women, as is the case with white women everywhere, simply thrust themselves upon the Negro soldiers.

As a further infuriating circumstance for white American soldiers in Britain, a number of British women boldly became married to Negro soldiers; and when the white officers sought to meddle in these cases they were promptly sat upon by English parents of these girls.

Mr. White also graciously boasted that, "by special invitation, he enjoyed luncheon with Lord and Lady Astor at Cliveden, England, being welcomed by none other than Miss Kennedy, one of the daughters of the former American Ambassador to Great Britain."

The English people were all the more quickly won by the Negro soldiers everywhere, because of the coarse caricatures which had been displayed in the English

*See *A Rising Wind*, chapters II, III, IV, V and VI, pp. 15-67, Doubleday, Doran and Co., Garden City, N. Y.

cinemas and because of the deliberate misrepresentations and caricatures of the white soldiers who preceded them to England.

One Lord Mayor of an unnamed British town broke down and confessed to Mr. White that "the Negro soldiers there had never given any trouble and were better behaved than the British soldiers!"

The English people, in the meantime, were utterly astonished that the United States Government insisted upon rigid segregation for Negro soldiers!

4. Every year, well-trained, near-white Negro individuals and families have been quietly moving over into new communities, assuming some sort of foreign names and becoming "white." Says President Charles H. Wesley of Wilberforce College: "The disappearance between the censuses of thousands of Americans of color through absorption into the 'white' population group is an aspect of flight from this (racial) situation, as well as the pursuit of other advantages which the change seems to provide" (*What the Negro Wants*, p. 110).

5. In the meantime, the Negro leaders, publicists and propagandists, in season and out of season, are exploiting to the limit and literally glorifying the great, modern social scientists who tell us that no race is superior to any other race; that, in fact, there are no known standards of superiority; that the human race is one and fundamentally all branches are alike—that human beings are what their environment make them, etc., etc. They argue that you may take an American mother's little children from her and give her Japanese or Negro babies in their stead, and that

INTEGRATION—AND AMALGAMATION 27

if she should give them the same food and clothing and care and training that she would normally give her own children, she would never know the difference—except in the incidence of color, etc!

So what? Unless those who believe that the races should be kept separate act now and decisively, we are going to scramble this whole basket of American racial eggs and have just one race! We could fill a book with quotations similar to the following statement made by Professor Herbert A. Miller of the University of Ohio: "There will be strains, and ups and downs, but as the process goes on [amalgamation] the biological similarity will be demonstrated until the races will forget their differentiation" (*The Negro in American Civilization*, by Johnson, p. 478). And these statements from Professor E. B. Reuter's most illuminating and authoritative book on *Race Mixture*, published in 1931, by the McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc.: (subheads furnished by this author).

The Hybrid Always Wins: "For a longer or shorter time the two racial groups may live side by side, in a state of relative separateness, each maintaining a semblance of racial and cultural integrity. But the hybrid population grows by natural increase, by continued intermixture of races, and by the intermixture of the hybrids with each of the racially separate groups. The uniform results are an increase of the hybrids at the expense of each parent group, the present disappearance of racial lines, and the ultimate mongrelization of the entire population" (see p. 3).

The Hybrid Also Destroys: "The racial intermixture with Negroes brought into the Egyptian population as

servile laborers, marked the beginning of the end of a great people. The mongrelized descendants were unable to advance or even to maintain the cultural status, and Egypt disappeared from the family of cultural nations" (p. 11).

He might have added that this is one of the two great problems of Brazil and Mexico today, mongrelization.

American Negro Achievements Explained: "With few exceptions, every American Negro who has risen above mediocrity has been of mixed racial parentage" (p. 14).

Why Race Mixture Will Increase: "The Negroes have never shown any marked aversion to crossing with other races. Their women at all times and places have entertained men of all races and people with whom they have been in contact" (p. 37).

"A larger or smaller number of mixed blood individuals escape the classification [of mulatto] by passing as white persons . . . To the Negro such achievements have all the elements of romance and great adventure. It is a favorite theme in Negro fiction . . . The number of mulattoes who pass over into the white racial classification will increase as the race becomes more modified by continued intermixture and as the white stock is modified toward the Negro type" (pp. 55-56).

Thus with Negro leaders everywhere themselves having a mixed racial heritage and proclaiming themselves not as Negroes but as "Brown Americans"; with more and more of the great Negro leaders marrying white women, and Negro authors and publicists representing white women everywhere as being swept off their feet by Negro men and as seeking both marriage and

clandestine connections with them; with hundreds of near-white Negro individuals and families actually passing over into the white population every year; and all the great scientists ringing the changes on the fundamental similarities of all races—with all these things brought into the life-and-death struggle for integration, if it is adopted or acquiesced in by the majority, can it mean anything else in the years to come, say eighty to one hundred years hence, except racial amalgamation? We do not think so.

PART III
CHRISTIANIZATION

MY CONFESSION OF RACIAL FAITH

By E. P. ALLDREDGE

1. I believe that all the races of mankind have sprung from one race and one man, by the special plan of God (Acts 17:26).
2. I believe that each distinct race of people has been endowed with certain extraordinary gifts and powers of achievement and service, and has been assigned a distinct habitat and a divine mission in the world (Acts 17:26).
3. I believe, therefore, that it is sacrilegious for one race to subjugate, dominate, or destroy another race, whether by force of arms or by miscegenation.
4. I believe that the more highly developed and progressive races are obligated to assist and to develop, but never to exploit or dominate the less favored and more undeveloped races.
5. I believe that the peoples of all races, in some measure, bear the image and likeness of God and are endowed with infinite values in the sight of God, and infinite capacities for growth, development and achievement among men.
6. I believe that all men of all races have certain natural, fundamental and inalienable rights, ten of which have been presented on pages 40 and 41 of this book.
7. I believe that the great nations and races of men are under two inescapable and divine laws in their attitude the one toward the other: *The law of Human Brotherhood, and the law of the Golden Rule.*

CHRISTIANIZATION

THE PROFESSIONAL NEGROES HAVE NO REMEDY

Let us speak plainly: The present-day racial leaders of the Negroes of America do not have a solution for the race problems which confront this nation. We are forced to say this, notwithstanding our deepest sympathy with them in their fight against all racial discriminations and inhumanities.

In the first place, their great national objective, integration, is impracticable and for many years, unattainable. For, as shown in Part II, it not only means the wiping out of all segregation, it means (and the Negro leaders intend it to mean) the blotting out of all race distinctions and the making of one mixed or mulatto race in America. The question arises, therefore, Shall the 123,000,000 white people who prefer to keep their racial identity be forced to surrender to 13,000,000 Negroes and 4,000,000 radical whites, and join them in making the United States of America a mulatto republic? Is such an objective worthy, commendable, or Christian? We do not think so, and we have the assurance that some 4,000,000 Bible-believing Negro Christians stand with us in this conviction.

There is a second deadly defect in the strategy of the Negro race leaders in America today. It is their Bourbonistic and childish determination to go on scorning all Christian agencies and ef-

forts and casting the whole issue of race relations into the lap of Congress, and attempting to force through a settlement by power politics and group pressure. For the past eighty years this strategy has gone on, as we said before, achieving some lamentable results: (1) Christ and his people, white and black, have been relegated—taken almost completely out of all racial issues and discussions; (2) there have been aroused and called out and given voice to the most flagrant and vicious racial antagonisms; (3) defeat has been brought to every main proposal presented; and (4) the chasm between the opposing racial groups has been widened; the leaders embittered on both sides, and a real settlement of the issues postponed for many years. Can the racial issues in America ever be settled apart from the spirit and compassion of Christ and the co-operation of his people? Let us say frankly and flatly, No!

The alternative proposal of the present-day leaders of the Negro race is even more foolhardy, wicked, and dangerous. Since 1942, in particular, many of the most prominent professional race leaders among the Negroes of America have been openly and covertly preaching force and violence, in case their proposals are rejected (see *The Quarterly Review*, Vol. V, No. 2, April, 1945, pp. 53-58). Also they have been openly seeking to arouse the returning Negro soldiers, just as was done after World War I, to go on a rampage and claim their "rights" by force. We have looked for the F.B.I. or some other agency to step in and

stop this deliberate campaign to incite violence and bloodshed.

THE TRAGEDY OF CONTINUED DISCRIMINATION

On the other hand, it is as clear as the day that this nation should not and must not go on with a continuous program of discrimination against any race. For it is discrimination, not segregation, which constitutes the real crime of this nation against the Negroes.

Segregation (which the professional Negroes harp on so much) is the simple and natural right of the individual, or the group, or the race, to separate its homes and schools and churches and business enterprises and professions and its social life from other individuals, or groups or races, as it may choose. This policy may be unwise, in some cases, but it is no crime. The Jews have practiced it for centuries, and continue to do so. It is not even an injustice or an injury. For in separating one race from another, both races must fare alike; and both races alike are then forced to go on alone. If segregation is a crime against the Negro people, it is likewise a crime against the whites. On the contrary, if the Bible has any authority in our lives, as we shall point out presently, we must believe that God is calling on us to maintain separate homes, separate possessions (private property), separate callings, separate business enterprises and professions, separate schools, separate churches, separate social life, and separate races.

WHOLESALE DISCRIMINATIONS—SOME EXAMPLES

While segregation is the free choice of one individual, or one group, or one race to separate from any other or all other individuals, groups or races, and carries no injury to one's fellow man, it is not so with discrimination. Discrimination everywhere always carries injustice and injury, deliberate or inadvertent, and, in most cases, deliberate. And the Bible everywhere unsparingly condemns discrimination on two counts: (1) Because it carries positive injury to one's fellow man and violates the second great commandment to which Jesus gave full approval; and (2) because it mostly perpetrates its injuries upon the person or group or race who is underprivileged and without a chance to offer adequate self-defense. It is therefore always unchristian and it is occasionally cowardly and contemptible.

Shall we give examples here of the wholesale discriminations wrought upon the Negro people of this nation continually? The list would be long and terrible to contemplate:

The Negro, for example, pays the same price for a railway or bus ticket as I do; but does he get as good a seat in as good a coach as I do? We know he does not, but we do not do much about it.

The Negro pays the same price for his coffee and sandwich that I pay; but does he get as good a chair and table and dining room as I do in which to eat his lunch? No, he must, in most cases, get his "eats" and get out, because there is not even a separate room in restaurants in which he may be seated. Couldn't we see to it that a better arrangement than this is made?

I work at whatever job my training, skill and experience has fitted me for, at a fairly nice salary and with other substantial benefits; but the Negro man has to work at whatever job he can get and always at a lower wage than I could live upon—and with little chance for promotion and for old age, sick and accident benefits. Is that a Christian arrangement? It is not.

The Negro man must pay taxes at the same rate that I pay; but in most cases he is never elected to office, or appointed on the police force, or allowed to sit on juries, or placed on the school boards, or the park commissions. And is this not taxation without even a chance for representation, about which we fought a war one time?

White people would not stand for this fifteen minutes. Have we the right to ask the Negroes to go on putting up with such discriminations for generation after generation?

The average white family, to give one more example, can have a comfortable home in a wholesome and attractive section of any city. Can the average Negro family have such a home in such surroundings? We know he cannot! Alas, we know also about many "restricted sections" where Negro families are forced to live in dilapidated, unsightly and unsanitary houses and surroundings which are unfit for human habitation, and should be condemned and razed by the municipal authorities.

There is good reason for the wide difference in the support given to Negro public schools in the South as compared with that which is given to the white public schools in the same sections. For already Negro public schools are overdrawing the funds which Negro taxes provide; while the Southern whites, with low incomes have been unable to provide only about one-third the public school funds for their own children as that which is provided for white children throughout the North and

West. Happily the South is coming into a better economic day and should be able within two or three decades to wipe out all inequalities between the races, in public education.

But why extend the list of known discriminations against the Negro people? Can any enlightened Christian conscience support such a regime? No; God's prohibitive "Thou-Shalt-Nots" are thundering in our ears. And we must hear and heed them before it is too late.

A TIME FOR CHRISTIAN DECLARATION AND DEEDS

Surely, surely, the Christian people of this nation and, particularly the great Christian bodies in the South, are not going to hesitate longer in this critical situation! Surely, surely, at long last we will step out in the open and dare to present to the world the high and noble Christian principles which must guide in the settlement of all racial issues! And surely, surely, having presented the great basic Christian principles which must guide us in this situation, we will not hesitate to set forth an immediate program of racial readjustment which will get us somewhere!

As a preliminary study and presentation of the great basic Christian principles underlying all racial issues, therefore, we invite attention to three statements which follow:

GOD'S TEN GREAT "THOU-SHALT-NOTS"

The laws of God and the teachings of the Bible present ten great principles which must guide all Christians in their attitudes and conduct toward

other peoples and races. We regret that space forbids the citing of the Scripture passages from which these principles have been deduced:

1. Thou shalt not forget that God is the creative Father of all men, and all men are brothers—neither lords nor slaves.

2. Thou shalt never oppose the expressed will of God, whether in creation or in revelation, but always be ready to co-operate with God.

3. Thou shalt not claim any right or privilege for thyself which thou dost not freely accord to all others, even to the humblest of thy fellow men—all discriminations, injustices and inhumanities are out!

4. Thou shalt never forget that the home is the center of life and the basis of all real progress, and thou shalt give the people of all races a chance to have real homes, comfortable homes, attractive homes.

5. Thou shalt not hate or take revenge on any human being of any race—love and forbearance and kindly service must rule and win.

6. Thou shalt remember that by the special gift of God, some things belong to every person and every race, and thou shalt never take away from thy neighbor what belongs to him—his property, his services, his gifts and graces, his good name, his wife and family, his race, or his self-respect.

7. Thou shalt not delay to seek reconciliation of an estranged person or group of any race, lest he or they be overcome by misunderstanding or injured feelings. Thou shalt postpone worship in thine own church, until a real effort for reconciliation has been made.

8. Thou shalt not attempt to deny or abridge the "ten great inalienable rights" or the "seven citizenship rights" of all American citizens, as these are set out in the sections which follow.

9. Thou shalt never take advantage, or attempt to take advantage of an underprivileged person of any race

—man, woman, or child—but, after the example of the Lord Jesus, thou shalt specialize in protecting and helping all such persons.

10. Thou shalt not ask any other nation to accept the overlordship of your nation because they happen to be of a different race; but thou shalt remember that all the superior powers and advantages of your nation have come from the hand of a gracious God and Father who expects your nation to help but never to dominate other nations and other races.

THE TEN "INALIENABLE RIGHTS"

Under God's law and its deductions in the American Constitution, every citizen of every race in the United States of America is vested with ten "inalienable rights" as follows:

1. The right to be recognized as a human being, made in the image of God, with infinite values in the sight of God, and with an infinite capacity for development and achievement among men.

2. The exalted right of approaching and worshiping God, and leading others to worship God, without hindrance from any one in church or state.

3. The right to such education as will develop and utilize the best things in each of us.

4. The right to marry according to the laws of God and the state, and to institute a home of one's own.

5. The right to be employed or to engage in business or professional calling, in keeping with one's training and talents and experience; at wages or for remuneration which will support one's home and family in comfort.

6. The right to full citizenship in one's nation, state and community, without distinction of race, or creed or color.

7. The right of full protection of one's person, under the laws of God and man.

8. The right to live in a comfortable home, located in wholesome and attractive surroundings.

9. The right to serve in any branch of the nation's armed forces in keeping with one's talents and training and experience.

10. The right to look to and count upon one's neighbors for help and encouragement toward a better life, here and hereafter.

THE SEVEN CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

These seven rights are based upon the Bill of Rights, adopted in 1791, interpreted by the Congress and the Courts, and made a part of the American Constitution:

1. The right of freedom of conscience and religion.

2. The right of freedom of expression within the law.

3. The right of freedom of association, assembly and petition.

4. The right of freedom to own property and to be exempt from unlawful seizures and confiscations.

5. The right of freedom of education under parental or legal guidance.

6. The right of freedom from unlawful imprisonment and unjust punishment.

7. The right of freedom from the tyranny of majority groups and races.

SOME OBJECTIVES OF RACIAL READJUSTMENT

In view of the critical situation among the races in America at this time, however, we dare not content ourselves with the presentation of statements of Christian principles, however comprehensive in form or noble in sentiment. We must go further and set forth some concrete objectives of racial readjustment which we are willing to champion and fight for. We therefore suggest the following as a minimum program of racial readjustment for which all Christians can and should contend:

We desire to go on record as believing that the time has come for all Christians to give their assistance and good offices to help the Negro people in attaining the following seven objectives:

1. Education: Equal public school advantages with the whites, according to their numbers and their needs, as early as such provisions can be made in the several states.

2. Citizenship: Full participating citizenship in the community, state, and nation, of which they are a part. No group of citizens has the right to disfranchise native-born citizens of any race.

3. Employment: Equal opportunity for employment in keeping with the talents, training, and experience of the individual at a wage to be fixed by the character of service which is rendered.

4. Protection: We will join other citizens of good will in building up and maintaining an organization for the legal aid of the unfortunate and criminal Negroes in the courts of the land.

5. Housing: The demolition, by proper legal authorities, of all unsightly and unsanitary Negro sections now

found in our towns and cities and the building of real homes for all our people, at rental rates controlled by the Government.

6. National Services: The right and duty of the Negroes to serve in all branches of Government services and in all branches of the nation's armed forces, according to the talents and training and experience of the individual.

7. Religion: We pledge ourselves to assist the Negro pastors and churches in calling out and training such church leaders, both lay and cleric, as can and will develop the best religious life of the race.

WHY KEEP THE RACES SEPARATE?

"But why," the professional Negro leaders of America ask, "will you not join us in wiping out all segregation, in all the areas of American life? You profess to recognize the evils of discrimination and you declare yourselves ready to assist the Negro people in attaining full citizenship rights, equal educational advantages with the whites, equal opportunities for employment, equal protection under the laws, equal housing facilities and surroundings, equal opportunities to serve in the armed forces of America and equal religious advantages and facilities. Why do you insist on keeping the races separate?"

We answer frankly and without reserve. There are at least six good and sufficient reasons for keeping the races separate in America and everywhere:

1. The races are the special creatures of God: Most Christians believe that it is sacrilegious to change or try to change what the Lord Almighty

has created or ordained. If God has made one a woman, for example, shall she pass through life whining and pining to be a man, or perchance make herself cheap and coarse by assuming the manners and dress of a man, and by even going so far as to pass herself off as a man and marry some good unsuspecting woman? Some women are actually doing just this. But all who accept the Bible as the Word of God must regard such a revolt against God and his creative work as a downright sacrilege. And this truth applies with equal force to any member of any race who tries to change his race. For the Word of God declares: "He [God] made of one* every nation [race] of men to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined their appointed seasons [ages], and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek God, if haply they might feel after him and find him, though he is not far from each one of us" (Acts 17:26-27). This great statement carries a fivefold revelation from God:

(1) That God made all the races of men—made them from one race and one man, Adam.

(2) That all races are not necessarily equal but they are all sacred before God—representing his distinct purpose and plan for all mankind and also his own creative work.

(3) That God has fixed, by his unalterable decrees, both the particular ages ("times") which each race will flourish or decay and also the particular section of the earth which each race shall occupy—its native land.

*The term "blood" as used in the King James Version is not in the Greek text nor in the American Standard Version.

(4) That each nation (the word is *race* in the original), therefore has a divine right from God himself to its own country and its own day of opportunity for development and service.

(5) That the overruling purpose of God in granting to each race its special day (age) of opportunity for development and service and its own native land, is that each race should seek God in order that it may know and serve him.

From this revelation, we see that two things are absolutely forbidden before God: It is sacrilegious to attempt to blot out all the races by miscegenation and any other means; and it is equally sacrilegious for one nation to attempt to overrun and to dominate all other nations.

2. God's program calls for the races to remain separate to the end of time: God has not only made the various races of men, but he has preserved and blessed them through all the centuries and has ordained that they shall remain separate to the end of time.

Note the Case of the Jews: "And Jehovah will scatter you among the peoples, and you shall be left few in number among the nations [races], whither Jehovah shall lead you away. And there you shall serve gods, the work of men's hands, wood and stone, which neither see, nor hear, nor eat, nor smell. But from thence ye shall seek Jehovah thy God, and thou shalt find him when thou searchest after him with all thy heart and with all thy soul. When thou art in tribulation, and all these things are come upon thee, in the latter days thou shalt return to Jehovah thy God, and hearken unto his voice: for Jehovah thy God is a merciful God; he will not fail thee, neither destroy thee, nor forget the covenant of thy fathers which he sware unto them" (Deut. 4:27-31).

"And it shall come to pass in the latter days, that the mountain of Jehovah's house shall be established on the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations [races] shall flow into it. . . . And he will judge between the nations [races], and will decide concerning many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more" (Isa. 2:2-4).

Note the Continued Separation of the Gentile Races in the Christian Era: "For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and there shall be famines and earthquakes in divers places. . . . And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole [inhabited] world, for a testimony unto all nations [races]; and then shall the end come" (Matt. 24:7-14).

"And they sing a new song, saying: Worthy art thou to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and didst purchase unto God with thy blood men of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation [race]" (Rev. 5:9).

"After these things I saw, and behold, a great multitude, which no man could number, out of every nation [race] and of all tribes and peoples and tongues, standing before the throne and before the Lamb, arrayed in white robes, and palms in their hands" (Rev. 7:9).

"And the city hath no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine upon it: for the glory of God did lighten it and the lamp thereof is the Lamb. And the nations [races] shall walk amidst the light thereof: and the kings of earth shall bring their glory into it" (Rev. 21:23-24). (See also Matt. 28:19; Luke 24:47 and many others.)

God's program for the races, therefore, is that they shall remain intact and continue to the end of time; and whoever goes out to destroy any

race or all races by a process of miscegenation or domination, will be destroyed in the end.

3. Who honors the Negro race most? Are the great Negro leaders of our day honoring their race by their frenzied campaign to integrate with the whites and thus hasten the creation of a mulatto America? On the contrary, they are dishonoring every great tradition, every great gift and every great achievement of the Negro race and boldly proposing to cast them all into the sea of oblivion if only they may "get white," create a mongrel race, cease to be Negroes or even "Brown Americans," and join the whites in building up a great mulatto republic. Even the most backward Bourbon white in the South would not thus dishonor himself and the Negro race.

4. Vast majority want separate races: Also we believe and contend that a national referendum by secret ballot, will disclose the fact that the 140,000,000 of Americans in 1945 stand approximately as follows on the proposition of keeping the races separate:

For mixed races: 13,000,000 Negroes and 4,000,000 radical whites (about 3% of whites), or 12% of the total population.

For separate races: 123,000,000 whites (97% of the whites) or 88% of the total population.

By pressure groups and power politics, are the 17,000,000 to rule the 123,000,000, or else start a campaign of violence and bloodshed? And is such a proposal democratic, or American, or Christian, or wise?

5. Great gains have come through a separate racial program: In the April, 1945, number of the *Quarterly Review*, pages 45-48, we set forth at some length a summary of the marvelous growth and achievements of the Negro race in America, particularly since 1918. The facts concerning this progress compel us to make three statements: (1) No racial group in American history has made more wonderful progress than has the Negro race since the year 1910; (2) and no Negro group in any nation on earth has at any time reached the high plane of living and achieving which is now occupied by the Negroes of America; and (3) since all these achievements have been wrought under the pattern of separate races here in America, why are Negro leaders now seeking so desperately to turn their backs upon God's greatest providential blessing upon their race and cast all their racial achievements out at the window in a wild scramble for integration with the whites?

6. Hindrances to solution of American race problems: What, then, is keeping back a real solution of America's race problems? The answer is, three things: Let us mark them well, for our racial problems will never be solved until these things are understood and removed from all consideration:

First Hindrance: The first hindrance is the violent and vociferous campaign for full and complete racial integration and amalgamation now being carried on by the professional Negro leaders of America. Employed and paid splendidly

by the six great national fighting Negro organizations of America, or by the great race papers and magazines of the nation, they are demanding in season and out of season that the Negroes be given full and complete integration, or else they will go on a campaign of violence and take by force what they want. Is this the way to go about solving the great racial problems of America? It is the way not to go about this task.

Second Hindrance: The deliberate continuation, by the whites of America and particularly those of the South, in carrying out the long list of flagrant discriminations against the Negroes. Most of these discriminations are now well known to the leading white people of America. And even if the Negro racial leaders do continue with their extreme and violent campaign for "full and complete racial integration," and even if the 4,000,000 radical whites in America go on supporting and subsidizing the campaign of these professional Negro leaders, is there any good reason why the 123,000,000 of level-headed whites in America should go on discriminating against the great rank and file of the Negro people? Surely there is not!

Third Hindrance: The failure of the two great Christian groups, Negroes and whites, to come together in the name and spirit of Christ and sit down together and work out together a Christian settlement of all the main issues involved. It is true that this is the last thing in the world which the professional Negro leaders of America want

to see happen, and that such a movement, like the various interracial commissions, will be scorned and figuratively spit upon. But the Christian leaders of both races, particularly those in the South, now know why they will be held in contempt and will know how to meet such rebuffs. For it is as certain as death and taxes that no real solution of America's racial problems will ever be reached apart from such conferences, most likely, dozens of them lasting through the next ten years. But they will be worth all that they cost.

SHALL WE HAVE ONE CHURCH FOR ALL RACES?

Letter from young Baptist minister: In the fall of 1944, the following letter came to Dr. T. L. Holcomb of the Sunday School Board, from a Baptist minister in one of the army camps in the South. The form of the letter is very poor, but the meaning of it is quite evident. The letter is as follows:

(Honorable) Dr. T. L. Holcomb, Executive Secretary of
the Baptist Sunday School Board
Nashville, Tennessee.

Dear Sir:

Reading Saturday morning's paper, I notice the revival campaign to be carried out next year. Now you said the church must become a mighty power of God to meet returning veterans.

Now I am a Christian. Truly love everybody. How can we have God to guide us when we can't worship with our Negro brothers? How can we be Christian if we hurt our Negro neighbors? God said he was no respecter

of persons. Now if we are fighting together, dying together, why can't we pray together?

Now God is love. And he does not have but one church and one law and that is to love one another as he loved us and has given his life for us. Not as a race but to him that believes and is baptized. As we are people of this faith, why can't we recognize our Negro brothers and sisters as we do ourselves? I am only writing this because God is looking to us for witnesses.

When a Negro comes back from overseas, will he be welcome to our church without going to the back seat? Can he be a member of our churches? Because God is head of the Church (read Acts 17:26-31; Luke 13:2-5; 2 Cor. 7:10).

Now we see there is no color. But men—and all men. Now when we say service men, do we mean all service men? If we don't God is not *pleased*.

Please answer me back. I am ashamed of our ways towards the Negro. A brother in Christ as we are.

Yours truly,

A Baptist preacher for Christ. God bless you all!

PRONOUNCEMENT BY COMMISSION OF FEDERAL
COUNCIL

The *Chicago Defender* of December 23, 1944, carried the following call and pre-emptory demand for doing away with all separate Negro churches. All the signers of this pre-emptory demand are Negroes of the various denominations:

New York—An "open door" church for all people, regardless of race or color, was called for this week in an outspoken statement addressed to the white churchmen of the nation by 106 prominent Negro church leaders.

Prepared at the request of the Commission on the Church and Minority Peoples of the Federal Council of

Churches, the statement points out what can be done to improve racial relations within the churches themselves as well as the responsibilities church leaders should assume for community action.

Asserting that segregated churches "fall short of the requirements of the Christian ideal," the statement signed by the Negro churchmen said:

"Freedom of worship, if it means anything, means freedom to worship God across racial lines and freedom for a man or woman to join the church of his or her choice, irrespective of race."

ASK CHRISTIAN IDEALS

"The basic issue in an open door church," it continued, "is not whether Negroes and other racial groups would pour into white churches in large numbers or whether white people would crowd out Negro churches There is only one issue. Can any church be basically Christian that denies fellowship or membership on the ground of color or race? When the church presents the open door we may still have what we call Negro and white churches and they may be separate churches; but not racially segregated churches.

"Either the church must be actually and potentially a church for all people, irrespective of race and color, or it should cease to proclaim the doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man."

In support of the principle of racial equality, the statement emphasized the pronouncements of the Christian scriptures, the findings of science, and the concept of democracy as expressed in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution.

The statement was prepared by a committee of the Negro members of the Commission on the Church and Minority Peoples, under the chairmanship of Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., who was recently elected vice-president of the Federal Council of Churches. The other members of the

committee are Dr. Channing H. Tobias, secretary of Colored Work of the National Council of the YMCA, Dr. Charles H. Wesley, president of Wilberforce College, and Miss Olivia P. Stokes, associate director of the Baptist Educational Center of New York.

WARN OF RIOTS

Urging ministers and church leaders to take the lead in preventing a recurrence of the race conflicts which followed the last World War, the Negro churchmen warned that too many of the present and postwar interracial proposals are negative in character. "They aim to keep down race riots by having the armed officials of the law on the alert without seeking first to remove the causes that make for conflict."

In answer to the contention that the time is not ripe to make changes, the churchmen said:

"To the Ministers of Christ the time is always ripe to correct a wrong. Ministers, both Negro and white, must do more than urge Negroes, Jews and other racial minorities to be patient. They must urge that all of us begin now, and continue after the war, to make changes that make for justice, democracy, and brotherhood.

"The time is ripe now to equalize educational and work opportunities; to administer justice in the courts; to give the ballot equally to all citizens, irrespective of race; to provide opportunities for all to live in a healthy environment; and to guarantee equal access to health and hospitalization."

Among the signers of the statement are: Bishop W. Y. Bell of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, Cordele, Ga.; Dr. M. S. Davage of the Board of Education of the Methodist Church, Nashville, Tenn.; Rev. James W. Eichelberger, secretary of the Board of Christian Education of the A.M.E. Zion Church, Chicago, Ill.; Dean W. J. Faulkner of Fisk University, Nashville; Bishop J. A. Gregg, of the A.M.E. Church, Kansas City,

Kans.; Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, professor of Sociology, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.; Dr. George E. Haynes, executive secretary of the Race Relations Department of the Federal Council of Churches, New York; Rev. William Lloyd Imes, president of Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tenn.; Dr. W. H. Jernagin of the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Josephine H. Kyles of the Washington Federation of Churches, Washington, D. C.; Bishop C. H. Phillips of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, Cleveland, Ohio; Rev. A. Clayton Powell, pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, New York; Bishop P. W. Wallace of the A.M.E. Zion Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE TWO PAPERS

Before attempting to present the claims for separate race churches, we wish to note some special features of the two communications published herewith:

Investigation has disclosed the fact that both the letter addressed to Dr. Holcomb, and the pronouncement and call of the special commission of the Federal Council of Churches, came from Negro ministers affiliated with the great Negro organizations of the nation which are fighting for full and complete integration—though the young Baptist minister, writing Dr. Holcomb from a war camp in Mississippi, sought to leave the impression that he was a white minister.

The question raised in the young minister's letter as to whether white people were going to be allowed to worship with Negroes and Negroes to worship with whites; and how we are going to deal with the Negro soldiers returning from war

—these questions are without point. For there has never been but two short periods* in the history of the South when white people could not worship in Negro churches and Negroes worship in white churches. In a few communities, in periods of high tension, there have been exceptions to this rule; but they were rare exceptions indeed. And, as to the returning Negro soldier, when he returns, his home will be his home and my home will be mine; his church will be his church and my church will still be mine. In fact, if the returning Negro soldier is a real Christian he will not want the white man's church nor the white man's property, nor the white man's race or color. Of his own choice, he will go to his own home, his own church and his own race and do his best to help all of them come into a better day—unless he falls into the hands of the radical agitators who are placing race above the church.

Alas, both of these communications carry the same tragic misconceptions as to what a church of the Lord Jesus Christ is for, what functions it must perform, and why it is not only advisable to have separate race churches wherever possible, but equally advisable to have separate churches for different socioeconomic groups in the same race.

*There have been two periods since 1865 when, in some localities, it was not safe for Negroes to attempt to attend white churches and whites to attend Negro churches.

WHY SEPARATE RACE CHURCHES, ANYWHERE?

The special commissioners on racial minorities, under the Federal Council of Churches, missed this question a full mile. Let us note some of the tragic misconceptions and misrepresentations in these two documents:

1. No separate racial church in America "denies membership to anyone on racial grounds"—and never has done so. In communities where there are no separate race churches, members are welcomed from all races. As pastor, I have myself welcomed Negro Christians into my church in towns where there were no Negro churches. And I happen to know that Negro churches in communities where there are no white churches receive white members into their churches. Why this deliberate attempt to make the situation seem worse than it is?

2. In communities where there are separate race churches Southern Baptist pastors uniformly advise Negro applicants for membership to go to their own race churches where they can undoubtedly render larger service and where they are certainly more needed. Our white pastors, of course, are quite well aware of the fact that there is but one real reason for a Negro Baptist wishing to join a white Baptist church in a community where there are plenty of race churches—this Negro has placed his racial aspirations above his desire to honor and serve the Lord Jesus Christ.

3. Then these commissioners shout at us: "A church must be actually or potentially a church

for all the people, irrespective of race or color." There is no argument about this. On our part, we categorically deny the existence of any church which does not function, actually or potentially, as a church for all peoples of all races, throughout the whole world.

4. These commissioners on minority races certainly know that, from the very beginning, separate race churches were formed, not to exclude the Negro Christians, but to afford them opportunity for development and growth and achievement for God such as they never could have experienced had they continued to hold membership in mixed racial churches. Why are they now trying to make Negro Christians and the public believe that separate racial churches were formed and continue to exist for the sole purpose of excluding the Negro people? That never was true.

5. We now go further to say that we believe that all the 106 high church dignitaries of the various Negro denominations on this minority racial commission know—know even better than we know—that the wide and radical racial differences between Negroes and whites and the great disparity in the development of Negro Christians and white Christians call loudly for a continuation of the separate racial churches wherever possible, and would make tragic beyond any words the inauguration of mixed racial churches throughout the nation.

WHY SEPARATE RACE CHURCHES SHOULD BE
CONTINUED

We offer, therefore, five reasons for the continuation of separate racial churches in all bi-racial communities. We could as easily offer twenty-five:

1. Beyond peradventure, both racial groups will have greatly increased opportunities for growth, development and service, in the separate race churches.

2. The radical and revolutionary differences between Negroes and whites and the wide disparity of general development between the two groups, as we said before, call loudly for a continuation of separate racial churches.

3. Negro Christians have some outstanding religious gifts which white Christians do not have in the same proportion. They should be allowed to develop these distinct gifts and, in doing so, to follow their own racial forms of worship and their own ways of serving the Lord and the needy world.

4. The seven real functions of a church of the Lord Jesus Christ cannot be performed in a mixed race or "open door" church as well as they can be performed and are performed in the separate racial churches. Even in the Spirit-led church under the apostles, mixed racial elements caused trouble (Acts 6:1):

(1) The church must offer great worship services to the people.

(2) It must cultivate greater and still greater Christian fellowship among the members.

(3) It must develop and utilize great teaching services.

(4) It must constantly call out and train and develop new workers.

(5) It must present the gospel to the needy, broken, suffering world and win the lost to Christ.

(6) It must render actual service to the poor and unfortunate and minister to the bodies and minds of men.

(7) It must co-operate with other churches in carrying Christ's whole great program to the whole needy world.

Does anyone believe that a mixed race church, with wide disparity of development between the races*, can carry out these seven functions of a real church of the Lord Jesus Christ as well as these can be carried out in the separate race churches?

Does not every one know that Negroes and whites never worship the same way—and perhaps never will worship the same way? And that a mixed race church would restrain the spirit of true worship on the part of both races?

Does anyone believe that a mixed race church, anywhere on earth, to say nothing of our race-torn America, can offer to humble Negro Christians such real Christian fellowship as they can have and do have in their own race churches?

And what will come of the 30,000 ordained Negro preachers, the 850,000 Negro deacons, the 900,000 Negro Sunday school teachers, to say

*We make no claim for the innate superiority of any race.

nothing of the 500,000 young people's leaders and the 700,000 leaders of woman's work in the Negro churches—if this “open door,” or mixed racial church takes over in America? These Negro church leaders will not have one-hundredth part of the opportunities which they now have to serve God and the needy, broken world.

5. And what is the “mess of pottage” for which the Negro dignitaries propose to sell out the greatest Negro churches on earth and come in with whites, and have a mixed race church? The fatuitous hope of full and complete integration (amalgamation) with the whites! May the Lord spare both Negroes and whites such a catastrophe!

WHAT, THEN, IS THE WAY OUT?

(See Appendix I for the twelve best recent books on the racial situation.)

What, then, is the way out of America's tense and difficult racial situation? It is as simple as it is difficult: We must recognize the basic facts involved and dare to follow them.

And what are these basic facts? They are three, just three, as follows:

1. Some 123,000,000 whites in America will never agree to give up their racial identity. They will continue to stand solidly for a separation of the races. A real test of this issue will show that 13,000,000 Negroes and 4,000,000 radical whites constituting only 12 per cent of the population are seeking to override and dominate 123,000,000

whites, or 88 per cent of the population. Can it be done? In a democracy, a majority of 88 per cent of the people should not be set aside or overridden by power politics, even if it could be done. Certainly abuse and threats of violence will not bring about a change of sentiment on the part of the whites. The continued agitation for complete integration, therefore, can only bring about greater tension between the races; it can never bring a settlement.

2. The repeated demands of the Negro racial leaders in America for full and complete racial integration, with its well understood and inevitable implications, does not, in any way however, justify the white people of America, and the whites in the South in particular, in denying full citizenship rights to the Negroes of this nation, or justify them in continuing the long list of discriminations against the Negro people. The 127,000,000 white people in America can afford to be both just and generous to the 13,000,000 Negroes, all the more so that they are a small minority and underprivileged as compared to the whites. Let the white people of the Southland, therefore, take the lead in granting full participating citizenship to every native-born American, white or black or red or brown; and then begin at once to wipe out all discriminations against the Negro people.

3. This whole matter must be taken out of the hands of politicians and out of the halls of Congress and taken to the two great Christian groups, the white and Negro churches of the nation and

particularly to the white and Negro churches of the South. Let representative groups of Christians from both races sit down together in conference and continue in conference annually, if need be, through the next ten years. Do this and we shall find both a real and a Christian settlement of all the issues involved.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE TWELVE BEST RECENT BOOKS ON THE RACIAL SITUATION

With 135 books published since 1939, all attacking the whites of America, and Southern whites in particular, and only three books written by Southern whites, it is difficult to select the twelve recent books which would be most useful to the student of our new racial situation in America. Perhaps the following will best present the whole picture:

(1) *The Negro's Struggle for Survival*, by Professor S. J. Holmes; the University of California, 1937; price \$3.00.

(2) *The Mind of the South*, by W. J. Cash; The Alfred Knopf Co., N. Y., 1941; price \$3.75.

(3) *Below the Potomac*, by Virginius Dabney; The D. Appleton-Century Co., N. Y., 1942; price \$3.00.

(4) *The Negro in the Reconstruction in Virginia*, by A. A. Taylor; The Associated Publishers, Washington, D. C., 1942; price \$2.15.

(5) *The Fighting South*, by John Temple Graves II; The G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y., 1943; price \$2.75.

(6) *New World A'Coming—Inside Black America [Harlem]*, by Roi Ottley; the Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1943; price \$3.00.

(7) *Brown Americans [not Negroes mind you!]*, by Edwin R. Embree; The Viking Press, N. Y., 1943; a revision; price \$2.00.

(8) *The American Dilemma*, by Gunnar Myrdal, 2 Vols.; Harper Brothers, N. Y., 1944; price \$7.50.

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(9) *What the Negro Wants*, edited by Rayford W. Logan; The University of North Carolina Press, 1944; price \$3.50.

(10) *Race Mixture*, by Professor E. B. Reuter, University of Iowa; The McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., N. Y., 1931, price \$2.50.

(11) *Patterns of Negro Segregation*, by Professor C. S. Johnson of Fisk University; Harper Brothers, N. Y., 1943; price \$3.50.

(12) *The Negro's Share*, by Richard Sterner, Harper Brothers, N. Y., 1944; price \$4.50.

APPENDIX II

NEGRO MURDERS AND MANSLAUGHTERS IN THE SOUTH*

COURT RECORDS CITED

In 1941, we made a survey of the murders and manslaughters in the following seven sections of the South—taking only the court records as a basis for our information:

Richmond, Virginia
Five counties in North Carolina
Atlanta, Georgia
Nashville, Tennessee
Memphis, Tennessee
Birmingham, Alabama
Houston, Texas

These cities and centers were selected because some one of them was being published, every year, as the "murder center of the United States." The court records of Richmond, Virginia, and the five counties in North Carolina covered ten years; whereas all the others covered only the year 1940. The court records for these years and the seven Southern centers showed that the enormous total of 862 murders and manslaughters had been committed. Who committed these murders and manslaughters? Here is what the court records show:

*See *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 2 No. 2, pp. 123-134, April, 1942, for the complete survey.

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RECORDS OF SEVEN SECTIONS OF THE SOUTH

Taking the seven sections of the South together we found the following composite crime picture:

Total murder indictments	862	
Negroes had killed Negroes, times	714	82.83%
Negroes had killed whites, times.....	27	3.13%
Total murders and manslaughters by Negroes	741	85.96%
Whites had killed whites, times	114	13.23%
Whites had killed Negroes, times	7	.81%
Total murders and manslaughters by whites	121	14.04%

SEVERAL ASTONISHING FACTS DISCLOSED

This record makes five astonishing facts as clear as the day:

1. While the Negroes comprise but one third of the population of these seven sections of the South, they committed more than six times the number of murders and manslaughters which were committed by the whites in the same areas. This means that the murder and manslaughter rate of the Negroes in these seven sections of the South, at present, is more than twelve times that of the whites among whom they live!

2. What is equally astonishing, in these seven sections of the South, the Negroes killed only 27 white persons while they slaughtered 714 of their own racial group! That is to say, for every white person they killed, they slew 26 Negroes!

3. Most astonishing of all, in view of the rash charges of the radical Negroes and whites against

the South, the whites, outnumbering the Negroes two to one, killed only 7 Negroes in the seven sections of the South, while half their number of Negroes killed 27 whites in the same areas!

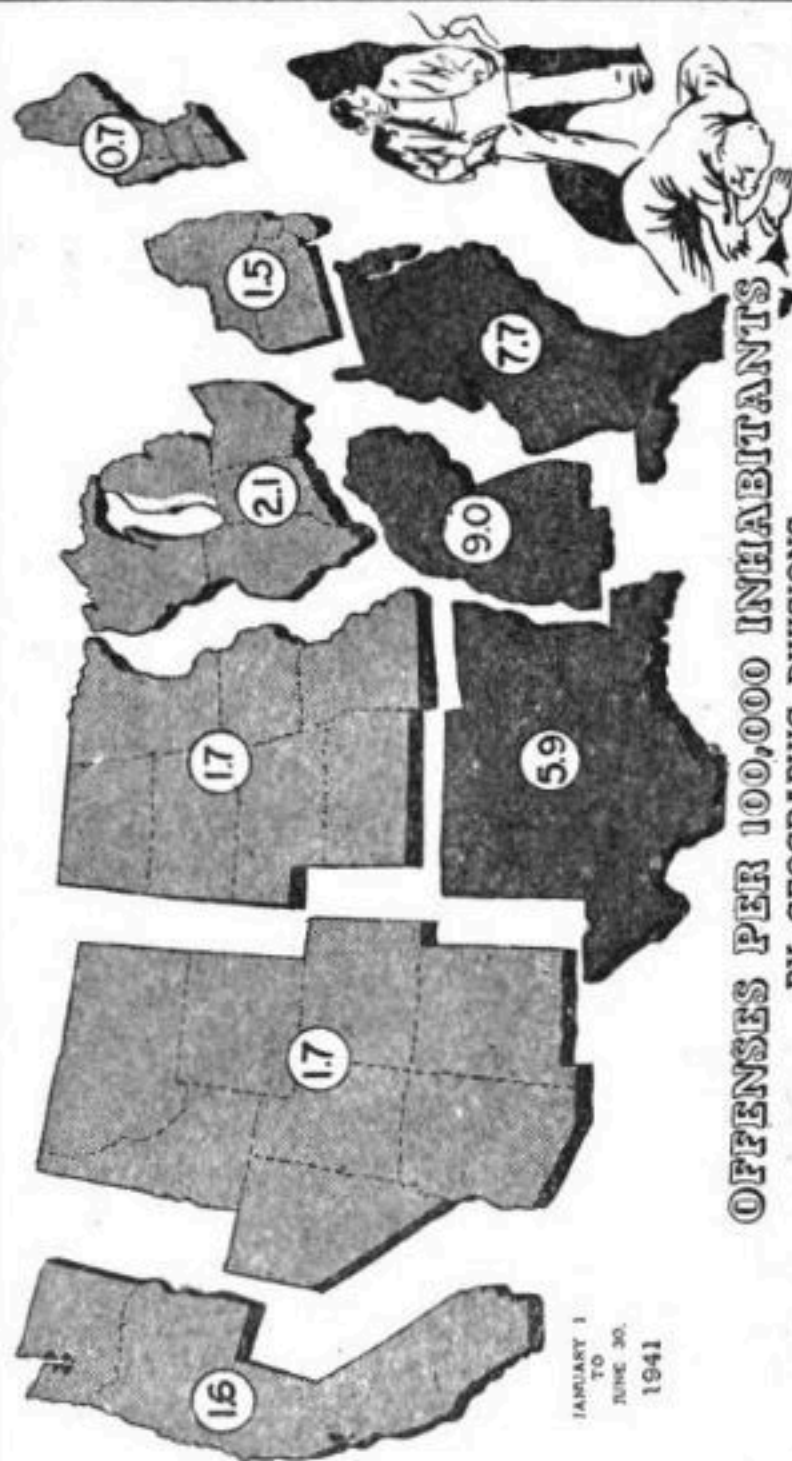
4. If we now compare the murder and manslaughter records of the whites in these seven sections of the South with the records of the other sections of the United States, we shall see that the whites of the South compare favorably with any other section of the United States, except New England. For only one-seventh part of that terrible black record of murder is chargeable to the whites of the South—the other six-sevenths must be charged against the Negroes!

5. With these facts before us, what comes of the claim that Negroes know how to get along with other races? The pitiable plight of the 10,000,000 poor whites in the South is, in some sections, quite as bad and fully as hopeless as the Negroes (see *Sharecroppers All*, by Arthur Raper and Ira De A. Reid). And if the murder record of the Negroes—twelve times that of the whites—climbs up only as the “brutal whites” goad them to desperation, systematically frustrate all their rightful aspirations, and keep them in economic bondage and underprivileged ignorance, why do the Negroes murder 26 Negroes for every white they kill? (For this whole survey see *The Quarterly Review*, Vol. 2, No. 2, April, 1942, pp. 123-134.)

See the F.B.I. Crime Reports attached—giving dates and sections of U. S.

MURDER

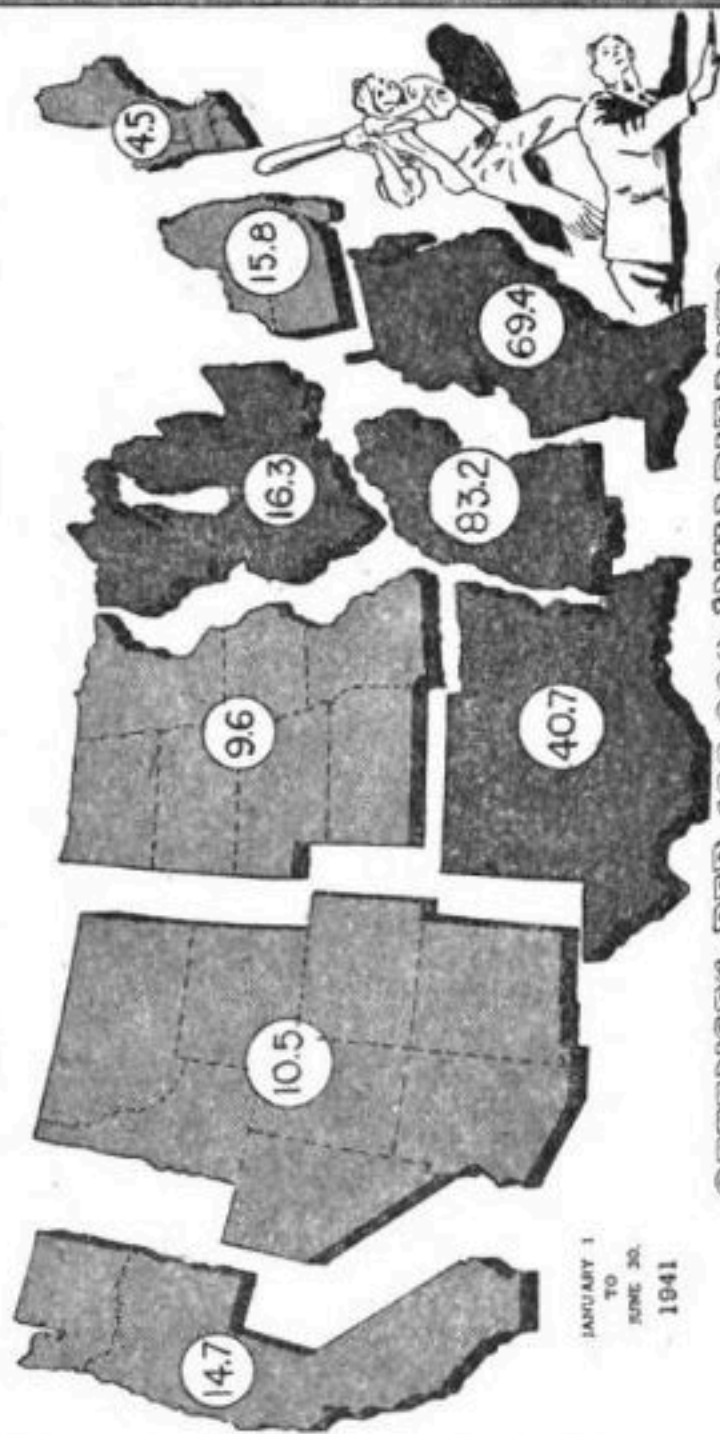
INCLUDING NONNEGLIGENT
MANSLAUGHTER



JANUARY 1
TO
JUNE 30,
1941

OFFENSES PER 100,000 INHABITANTS
BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS

AGGRAVATED ASSAULT

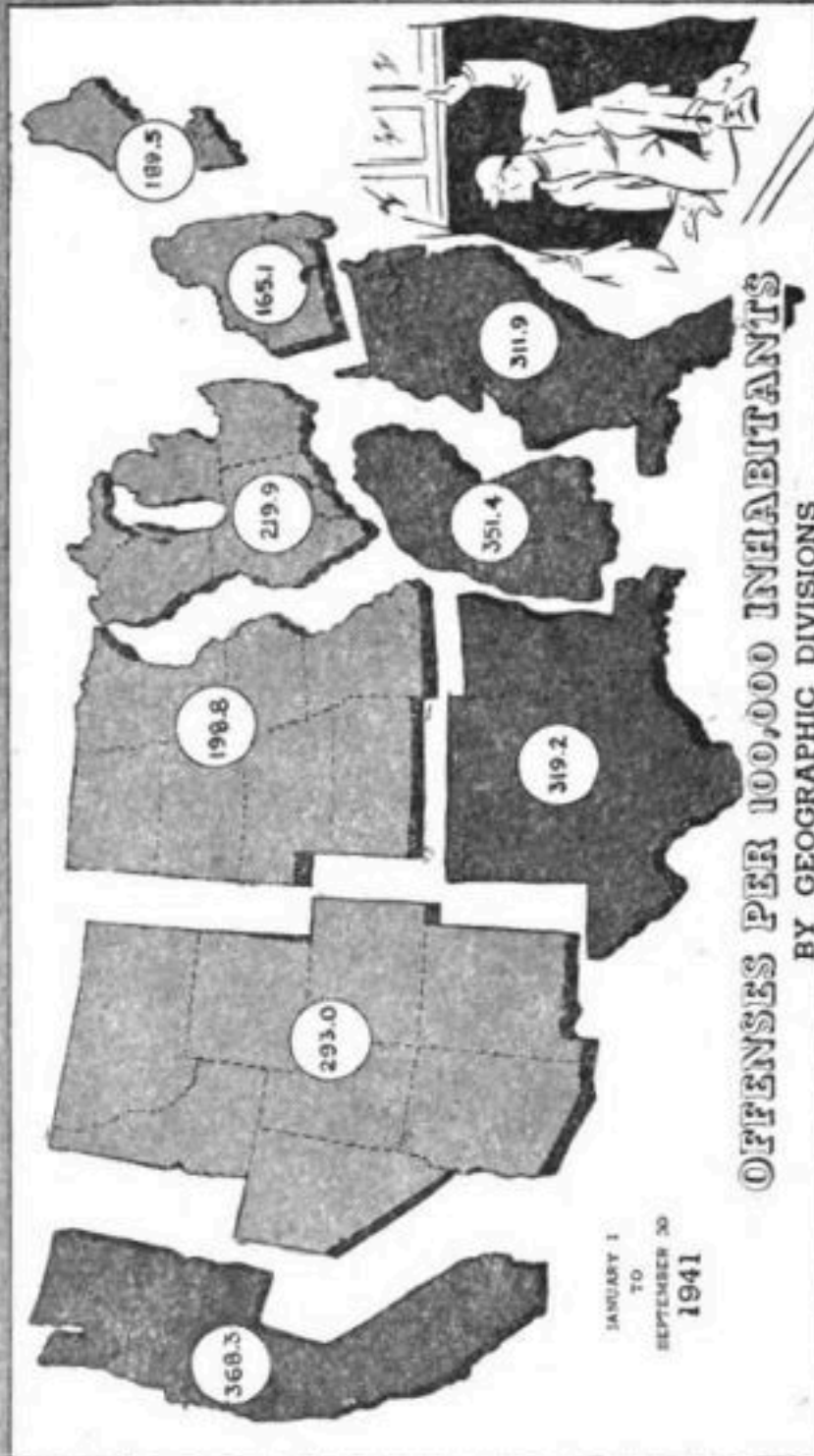


JANUARY 1
TO
JUNE 30,
1941

OFFENSES PER 100,000 INHABITANTS
BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS

BURGLARY

BREAKING
OR ENTERING



JANUARY 1
TO
SEPTEMBER 30
1941

OFFENSES PER 100,000 INHABITANTS

BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS

APPENDIX III

SLAVEHOLDING FAMILIES IN 1860

For the first time in history, so far as this author knows, we are publishing herewith the actual tabulations of the slaveholding families of the nation, and the number of slaves held by each family in 1860, state by state—the tables subjoining are taken from the 1860 *Report on Agriculture* at page 247, through the kindness of the Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C. The actual tabulations are presented herewith in order to correct many kinds of guesses, unwarranted assumptions and misrepresentations. Attention is called, first of all, to the tabulations, then to the “six unbelievable facts” about slavery in 1860, and finally to some other data necessary to a correct understanding of the racial situation in 1860 and in 1945.

*Population of U. S. in 1860

<i>Population of the South</i>	12,398,383 (39.5%)
Free Negroes ..	262,003
Negro slaves	3,953,696
White persons ..	8,182,684
<i>Population of North and West</i>	19,017,190 (60.5%)
Free Negroes	225,967
Negro slaves	64
White persons ..	18,791,159
<i>Total Population of</i> <i>United States in 1860</i>	31,415,573 (100%)

*See Vol. X, p. 8809, *New Larned History* (1924).

SLAVEHOLDERS AND SLAVES IN 1860

NUMBER OF SLAVEHOLDERS AND SLAVES												
	STATES	1 slave.	2 slaves.	3 slaves.	4 slaves.	5 slaves.	6 slaves.	7 slaves.	8 slaves.	9 slaves.	10 and under 15.	15 and under 20.
1	Alabama.....	5,607	3,663	2,805	2,329	1,995	1,729	1,411	1,227	1,036	3,742	2,164
2	Arkansas.....	281	173	117	88	69	70	50	52	41	90	43
3	Delaware.....	237	114	74	51	34	19	15	10	8	17	8
4	Florida.....	863	563	437	365	285	270	225	185	169	627	349
5	Georgia.....	6,713	4,355	3,482	2,984	2,543	2,213	1,839	1,647	1,415	4,707	2,823
6	Kansas.....	2										
7	Kentucky.....	9,305	5,430	4,009	3,281	2,694	2,293	1,951	1,582	1,273	3,691	1,590
8	Louisiana.....	4,092	2,573	2,034	1,536	1,310	1,103	858	771	609	2,065	1,157
9	Maryland.....	4,119	1,952	1,279	1,023	815	666	523	446	380	1,173	545
10	Mississippi.....	4,856	3,201	2,503	2,129	1,809	1,585	1,303	1,149	1,024	3,432	2,057
11	Missouri.....	6,893	3,764	2,773	2,343	1,686	1,384	1,130	877	640	1,734	666
12	North Carolina.....	6,440	4,017	3,068	2,546	2,245	1,887	1,619	1,470	1,228	4,044	2,029
13	South Carolina.....	3,763	2,533	1,990	1,731	1,541	1,366	1,207	1,085	973	3,334	1,876
14	Tennessee.....	7,820	4,738	3,609	3,012	2,536	2,066	1,753	1,565	1,280	3,779	1,744
15	Texas.....	4,593	2,874	2,093	1,782	1,439	1,125	928	791	657	2,237	1,186
16	Virginia.....	11,085	5,989	4,474	3,807	3,233	2,824	2,393	1,984	1,788	5,686	3,088
	Total, States.....	76,670	45,934	34,747	28,907	24,225	20,600	17,235	14,862	12,511	40,367	21,315
TERRITORIES												
1	District of Columbia.....	654	225	112	72	53	31	24	12	11	20	7
2	Nebraska.....	1	4				1					
3	Utah.....	8	2					1			1	
	Total, Territories.....	663	231	112	72	53	32	25	12	11	21	7
	Total States and Territories.....	77,333	46,165	34,859	28,979	24,278	20,632	17,260	14,864	12,522	40,388	21,322

SLAVEHOLDERS AND SLAVES IN 1860—Continued

NUMBER OF SLAVEHOLDERS AND SLAVES													
STATES		20 and under 30.	30 and under 40.	40 and under 50.	50 and under 70.	70 and under 100.	100 and under 200.	200 and under 300.	300 and under 500.	500 and under 1,000.	1,000 and over.	Aggregate holders of slaves.	Total No. of slaves.
1	Alabama.....	2,323	1,253	768	791	550	312	24	10	.....	.....	33,730	435,080
2	Arkansas.....	35	13	8	6	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,149	111,115
3	Delaware.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	587	1,798
4	Florida.....	333	171	99	116	42	45	2	.....	.....	.....	5,153	61,745
5	Georgia.....	2,910	1,400	739	729	373	181	23	7	1	.....	41,084	462,198
6	Kansas.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
7	Kentucky.....	1,093	296	96	51	12	6	1	.....	.....	.....	38,645	225,463
8	Louisiana.....	1,241	695	413	560	460	460	63	20	4	.....	22,033	331,726
9	Maryland.....	487	179	81	75	34	15	.....	1	.....	.....	13,783	87,189
10	Mississippi.....	2,322	1,143	755	814	545	279	28	8	1	.....	30,943	436,631
11	Missouri.....	349	120	33	26	8	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	24,320	114,931
12	North Carolina.....	1,977	870	474	423	188	118	11	4	.....	.....	34,653	321,059
13	South Carolina.....	1,984	1,083	579	710	487	363	56	22	7	1	26,701	402,408
14	Tennessee.....	1,623	648	284	219	116	40	6	1	.....	.....	36,844	275,719
15	Texas.....	1,095	491	241	194	88	52	2	.....	.....	.....	21,878	182,566
16	Virginia.....	3,017	1,291	609	503	243	105	8	1	.....	.....	52,128	490,865
Total, States.....		20,789	9,648	5,179	5,217	3,149	1,980	224	74	13	1	383,637	3,950,513
TERRITORIES													
1	District of Columbia.....	7	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,229	3,185
2	Nebraska.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	15
3	Utah.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12	29
Total, Territories.....		7	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,247	3,229
Total, States and Territories.....		20,796	9,648	5,179	5,218	3,149	1,980	224	74	13	1	384,884	*3,953,742

SLAVEHOLDING FAMILIES IN 1860

(5.2 persons per family)

Slaveowning Southern families	384,884	(16.1%)
Families owning no slaves.....	1,999,420	(83.9%)
Total Southern families.....	2,384,304	(100%)

Note: Woodrow Wilson in his *History of the American People*, Vol. 4, pp. 190-197, said, "Probably not more than one white man out of every five in the South was a slaveholder." However, the actual records show that fewer than one out of every six white families in the South owned slaves.

CLASSES OF SLAVEOWNING FAMILIES
IN 1860

Owning only one slave	77,333	(20.10%)
Owning 2 to 4 slaves	110,003	(28.58%)
Owning 5 to 9 slaves	89,556	(23.27%)
Owning 10 to 19 slaves	61,710	(16.03%)
Owning 20 to 49 slaves	35,623	(9.26%)
Owning 50 to 99 slaves	8,367	(2.17%)
Owning 100 to 199 slaves	1,980	(0.52%)
Owning 200 to 299 slaves	224	(0.05%)
Owning 300 to 499 slaves	74	(0.01%)
Owning 500 to 999 slaves	13	(0.003%)
Owning 1,000 and over.....	1	(.0003%)
Total slaveowners in 1860.....	384,884	(99.99%)
Families owning 30 or more slaves	25,486	(6.6 %)

Only one out of fifteen slaveowners could afford an overseer. The other fourteen-fifteenths of the slaveholders personally superintended the work of the slaves, or else appointed certain outstanding slaves to superintend the work of the others.

SIX UNBELIEVABLE FACTS ABOUT SLAVERY IN 1860

The more recent books of special merit dealing with this subject are: Charles S. Sydnor, *Slavery in Mississippi* (New York, 1933); Ralph Betts Flanders, *Plantation Slavery in Georgia* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1933); Ruth Scarborough, *Opposition to Slavery in Georgia* (Nashville, 1933); Kendrick and Arnett, *The South Looks at Its Past* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1935); W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York, 1941); Virginius Dabney, *Below the Potomac* (New York, 1942).

1. The South had more free Negroes in 1860 than both the North and the West—262,003 for the South as compared with 225,967 for the whole North and West.

2. The states having the largest number of free Negroes in the United States in 1860, were as follows:

Maryland	83,942	free	Negroes
Virginia	58,042	"	"
Pennsylvania	56,849	"	"
New York	49,005	"	"
Ohio	36,673	"	"
North Carolina	30,463	"	"
New Jersey	25,318	"	"
Delaware	19,829	"	"
Louisiana	18,647	"	"
Indiana	11,428	"	"
District of Col.	11,131	"	"

3. Only 16.1 per cent (or fewer than one-sixth) of the families of the South in 1860 owned any slaves, as compared with 83.9 per cent (or more than five-sixths) of the families who owned no slaves at all. That is to say, there were 12,398,383 persons in the South in 1860, including 3,953,696 slaves, but 10,396,986 of these Southern whites owned no slaves whatever.

4. There were 10,608,475 more white persons in the North and West than in the South in 1860, but the South included 3,987,668 more Negroes than both the North and the West.

5. From the tabulation presented here, it is noted that the South owned 3,953,696 slaves in 1860; whereas the North and the West owned but 64 slaves, as follows:

Kansas, 2 slaves
Nebraska, 15 slaves
New Jersey, 18 slaves—and
Utah, 29 slaves

6. Only one slaveholder in fifteen (a total of 25,486 altogether) had as many as thirty slaves and could afford an overseer*; the other fourteen-fifteenths (or 359,398 slaveowning families) never had an overseer, whether cruel or kind—contrary to the pattern presented by most fictional writers and all propagandists.

*See *Slavery in Mississippi*, by C. S. Sydnor, p. 67.

NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES

Most of them came from Africa and West Indies:

1619	.....	23	
1713	.....	50,000	
1727	.....	75,000	
1750	.....	220,000	
1754	.....	260,000	
1760	.....	310,000	
1770	.....	462,000	
1780	.....	511,000	
1790	.....	757,208	19.3%
1800	.....	1,002,037	18.9%
1810	.....	1,377,808	19.0%
1820	.....	1,771,656	18.4%
1830	.....	2,328,642	18.1%
1840	.....	2,873,648	16.8%
1850	.....	3,683,808	15.7%
1860	.....	4,441,830	14.1%
1870	.....	4,880,000	12.7%
1880	.....	6,580,793	13.1%
1890	.....	7,488,788	11.9%
1900	.....	8,833,994	11.6%
1910	.....	9,827,763	10.7%
1920	.....	10,463,131	9.9%
1930	.....	11,891,143	9.7%
1940	.....	12,865,518	9.7%

—*Encyclopedia Americana*, Vol. 20.

NEGROES IN SOUTH AND SOUTHWEST 1940

States	Total Population 1940	White Population	Negro Population	Percentage Negro Population
Alabama	2,832,961	1,849,097	983,290	34.70%
Arizona	499,261	426,792	14,993	3.0 %
Arkansas	1,949,387	1,466,084	482,578	24.75%
District of				
Columbia ..	663,091	474,326	187,266	28.24%
Florida	1,897,414	1,381,986	514,198	27.09%
Georgia	3,123,723	2,038,278	1,084,927	34.73%
Illinois (1/5)	1,559,488	1,500,840	77,489	4.97%
Kentucky	2,845,627	2,631,425	214,031	7.52%
Louisiana	2,363,880	1,511,739	849,303	35.93%
Maryland	1,821,244	1,518,481	301,931	16.58%
Mississippi ...	2,183,796	1,106,327	1,074,578	49.21%
New Mexico .	531,818	492,312	4,672	.88%
Missouri	3,784,664	3,539,187	244,386	6.46%
North				
Carolina ...	3,571,623	2,567,635	981,298	27.47%
Oklahoma	2,336,434	2,104,228	168,849	7.23%
South				
Carolina ...	1,899,804	1,084,308	814,164	42.85%
Tennessee ...	2,915,841	2,406,906	508,736	17.45%
Texas	6,414,824	5,487,545	924,391	14.41%
Virginia	2,677,773	2,015,583	661,449	24.70%
Totals, 1940	45,872,653	35,603,079	10,092,529	22.0 %
Totals, 1930	41,561,438	30,939,726	9,517,315	22.9 %

Negroes are decreasing in Kentucky and Oklahoma, and having small gains in several other states.